Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Lucara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have kimpi and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quechua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quechua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/194 cont./

142 Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew. Considered pure Uru: Thin lips. A moderately convex nose, with enlarged alae. Malo-marginal fold present.

Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old. Born of Uru father and mother. He is the oldest man in the village. A deeply wrinkled face. Plentiful white hair. A few beard hairs, short and completely white. Straight nose, very depressed at the base. Thin lips. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[141] Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old. Tall, 174 cm., contrasting with the other members of the group, of medium height. Born of Uru father and mother. Some white hair. Some beard hair, short and white. Relatively large head. Slightly convex nose. Not very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

[144] Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old. Born of Uru mother but
[141] of unknown father, he shows unquestionable signs of crossbreeding with elements of Andean race. Brachycephalic, strongly hypsicephalic, euryprosopic, and mesatiskelic, he clearly stands apart from the other members of the group. His much more active nature and his more lively type of intelligence accentuate this difference still more. Straight nose, malo-marginal fold present.

Women

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, niece of Manuel Inta (?), considered a true Uru. An attractive, energetic person. Low forehead, straight nose, depressed at the base. A well-marked
[163] malo-marginal fold. Four children, nine to 15 years old.

Celestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered /195/ as pure Uru. An agreeable, energetic person. Moderately convex nose. Accentdated malo-marginal fold.

Andrea Inta, 40 to 50 years old, daughter of Manuel Inta, considered true Uru. Coarser type than the previous ones.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24



601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction 548 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphiped* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchhu* (*kučʼu*) or *sica quir-* 198 *kitha* (*kirkitʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 529 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of 535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.